

BRYAN'S CALL TO KY. DEMOCRATS

ELOQUENT SPEECH DELIVERED IN LOUISVILLE AFTER MAKING ADDRESSES IN OTHER CITIES.

UPHOLD THE PRESIDENT BY ELECTING BECKHAM

Bryan Advises To Sustain President Wilson by Electing Democratic Ticket—President Must Have Support of House and Senate in Great Work He is Doing.

Louisville, Ky.—(Special.)—Achievements of the Democratic party since its succession in power, in fulfillment of pledges made prior to 1912, were described by William Jennings Bryan, Secretary of State, following a one-day tour of the state, at a meeting held here Thursday night. He reviewed the work of President Wilson and made an earnest plea for the election in November of Mr. Beckham and Mr. Camden and the Democratic nominees for the House.

Mr. Bryan said in part:

Ladies and Gentlemen—It is very pleasant to return to your great city under circumstances so favorable. The only embarrassment that I find in coming is a natural embarrassment, because we are prone, in civil life as well as in military life, to overestimate the part of those who lead and underestimate the work of the nameless multitude without whom a leader would be powerless. I have been trying for eighteen years to unload a large part of the credit that generous friends have been willing to bestow upon me. Because in three campaigns I occupied a position of leadership and carried the standard of the party, these friends, learning to know my name and not knowing the names of those for whom I stood, gave me the glory that belongs to all.

Two years ago I visited South America, and climbing up the Andes stopped for a day at Incahuasi. The rainfall is so small there and the sky so clear that Harvard University has established an observatory from which to photograph the stars. And they tell me that one night they turned their great telescope on a distant star, and when they examined the plate they found not one star, as they had thought, but more than 4,000 stars, and when they examined the heavens the stars appeared as one. And when I hear of that, I thought that it described just what we are prone to do in politics, and it fitted my case exactly, and I have been glad to tell these enthusiastic friends that that, which for many years they have been describing as Bryanism, was not anything for which I was especially responsible, but was the sentiment, the heartfelt sentiment of six and a half million of Democrats, of whom I was only one.

Kentucky's Stars.

And many of the stars that have helped to make up the light have been Kentucky stars. As I look back to the convention of 1896, in which this great reform began, or, rather, not in which it began, for that convention itself was the result of a struggle that lasted for something like a year—but as I look back to that convention, as I see myself again standing before that magnificent audience, I recall two faces that I shall not forget, for they seem to represent the enthusiasm of that body.

They were the faces of two stalwart men. One sat over here and one over there in that convention, and when that convention rose to applaud, these faces seemed to stand out more strongly than the rest. The man over here was Gov. Hogg, of Texas, one of the greatest men that that state has produced. And the man over here was Ollie James, of Kentucky. That was his entrance into politics, and he has remained, he has grown until he has become one of the great figures in our National Senate.

I never think of that audience that I addressed on that day without seeing his face—his boyish face—again. And as I have come into Kentucky, I have met your people from time to time and learned to know them, and one of those I have learned to know well is one who, after the fourth of March, will stand by the side of Senator James in the United States Senate, and I am down here in this state to-day, not because I doubt the result of this election, but for the double purpose of increasing, if I can, the majority for your two candidates for the Senate, Mr. Camden for the short term, and Mr. Beckham for the long term, and the return of all the members of Congress in whose districts I have appeared to speak.

I have been in several districts to-day, and I am glad that I close the day in the district of Mr. Sherley, a man who has gradually forged to the front until he stands to-day as one of the leaders of the Democratic House standing back of the President.

What a change has come since we began this fight. As has been sug-

"UPHOLD PRESIDENT," HIS KEYNOTE



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SECRETARY BRYAN.

gested by Gov. Beckham, it has been a long struggle, but it has been a delightful struggle. I know nothing that gives a man more real satisfaction than to feel that he stands for a cause that can not die. Yes, it has been a long struggle, tiresome at times and tedious, but a reward we have won. I thought I was happy two years ago. I did not think I could be happier than I was then. Then I had a chance to do something for Republicans that I had never been called upon to do before. I then indorsed the veracity of two Republicans who told the truth about each other, and I thought I was having the time of my life, but I am happier now than I was then. I have been here I think three times when I have myself been the candidate, and I have been here at other times when I came to appeal for other candidates, but during all these years I have made a different speech from that which you will hear to-night.

Hopes Then; Realization Now. They say in politics say the same things over and over. That is partially true, but I have a new speech for you. I have never had a chance to deliver this speech for you. Heretofore I have fed you on hopes; now I will stuff you with realization. Heretofore I have told you what we would do if you would just give us a chance; and now I have come to tell you that the half had not been told. Why, that which has been accomplished has exceeded the promises of the party, and even the expectations of the most sanguine of us.

It is hard to describe what happened two years ago. We have to go away back into history to find anything like it, back thousands of years, and the nearest parallel I have found is in Holy Writ. It is where the Red Sea opened and allowed the children of Israel to pass through. For did not the Republican party divide in the center, and did not the Democratic President march through?

And what a record he has made. Wonderful! And he could not have made it without a Democratic Senate and a Democratic House.

The President's Labors.

This is not a one-man government. One man in the White House can do great things, and yet from the beginning to the end our constitution bears the impress of the idea of co-operation. The President can recommend. That is the beginning. And he can sign the bill. That is the end. The President's actions are the Alpha and Omega, but the rest of the alphabet is in the Senate and the House. Unless the President has the Senate and the House in sympathy with him, his recommendations are in vain. Unless he has the Senate and the House to send him bills to sign, he waits pen in hand in vain. But, fortunately, the same ideal wave that carried our party to the White House gave us a substantial majority in both the Senate and the House, and this President of ours began work at once. According to the constitution he had from March to December to rest and look around. But he did not need rest, and he did not care to look around. And so he just called Congress together and kept Congress together. In all the nation's history no Congress has even been in session so long, and no Congress has been more busy while in session, for the President kept the hopper full. Just as soon as one piece of legislation was ground out he had another proposition ready to be considered; and working together, they have given us a record without parallel in the history of our nation, for no other President has ever accomplished so much as has Mr. Wilson.

Elect Beckham and Camden.

I desire first to emphasize the fact, and I desire you to bear in mind, as I proceed, the fact, that the President could not have given you one single act of remedial legislation had he not had a Democratic Senate and House, and the further fact that after March 4 the Republicans have either the Senate or the House, he can not after that date give you any other remedial legislation. If you want these ideas carried out, the only way to carry them out is to elect Democrats there to support him. In this state the only way to help carry out these ideas and continue these reforms is to elect Beckham and Camden to the Senate.

If in this state you elect these two men, one to the long and one to the

short term, you have done your best to help in the Senate, and if in this district you re-elect Sherley to the House you have done your best in the House of Representatives. More than that, let me ask you to remember this, too, that the only way in which you can register your approval of the splendid record of our splendid President is to write it on your ballot on election day.

Ballot the Only Way to Express That Approval.

It is pleasant to have two Republicans meet upon the street and say, "Is he not doing great work?" But it is of no avail if they believe their words by voting for Republicans on election day. You might meet in mass-meeting and by unanimous vote commend the President's course, but if you go to the polls and vote for Republicans who tie his hands and paralyze his efforts, you have not lived up to your representation.

Let me now call your attention briefly to the larger points of this great record that you may decide for yourselves whether you desire to commend the President or to condemn him. I am not here to tell you how to vote. I am here to tell you about your vote and how your vote will count on one side or the other.

The first thing to which the President addressed himself was the tariff question. It is an old question, so old that none of us can remember when this fight began. I began making stump speeches when I was twenty years of age, and I have been at it now thirty-four years. This is my eighteenth campaign, Congressional or Presidential. I began fighting for a reduction of the tariff thirty-four years ago, and Kentucky began long before I began. You have been a pioneer in the war of tariff reform, and your great men have stood in the forefront of this great conflict.

Tariff Law the Best.

The President, by co-operation with the Senate and House, has produced the best tariff law the country has had since the Civil War. I speak advisedly, for I was on the committee that prepared the only other tariff reduction law that we have ever had in fifty years, the law of 1894. And this law is better than that law was. That was the best law that we could get under those conditions, but we have better conditions now and we have a better law. This law gives us lower tariff rates than I thought it was possible to get, and it not only gave the people relief—the consumers of the country—relief from the high tariff of the former laws, but it set a nation free. As I look back over the campaigns in which I have participated I do not recall another campaign until this one when they did not bring out the threat of panic to terrorize the nation. The beneficiaries of protection who had their hands in the pockets of the nation, who had been making the laws that determined the amount that they should collect from the people—these people had at every campaign used a part of the money they had collected by unjust laws to deceive those who could be deceived, to purchase those that could be purchased, and to intimidate those who could be intimidated.

Calamity Threats Failed.

They had told the farmer that he would lose his home markets if he reduced the tariff. They had told the laboring men if they dared to vote for tariff reduction their bread and butter would be taken from them, and they had warned business men that the wheels of industry and of commerce would stop if they dared to lay a hostile hand on these sacred tariff schedules, and in some of the campaigns they had posted up notices in the shops that the laborers need not come back on Wednesday unless the Republican party was successful. This is what they have done, and they have deceived and misled many honest, well-meaning persons, and I suppose some of the more timid ones were almost afraid to wake up the morning after that law went into effect, for fear darkness would cover the land. But when they awoke they found the sun rose as usual, they found the soil had lost none of its fertility, they found that the energies of the nation had not been impaired, and then they saw that they had been fooled, and then the pretended partnership between the Al-

dissolved by retirement of the senior member.

If President Wilson had done nothing more, he has emancipated the nation from thralldom to the beneficiaries of protection, and now every citizen of this country can walk up to the polls and vote as he pleases without fear of being run out of business.

The Income Tax.

But I had another surprise. They made the tariff rates lower than I expected them to be. I have been in favor of income tax ever since I have been in politics. I believed in the tax we had twenty years ago, and when I think how we who had advocated it were denounced as demagogues and disturbers of the peace, and called everything down to anarchists because we favored a 2 per cent tax to-day, comes, and then when I see a tax to-day, ranging from 1 per cent to 7 per cent, and the whole country accepting it, I am ashamed of the moderation that characterized our earlier years. Yes, an income tax of from 1 per cent to 7 per cent, and every dollar of it lessened to that extent the burden to be borne by the struggling masses of the country. Not one man in ten will pay an income tax, for not one man in ten has an income of \$3,000, and those whose incomes are less are entirely free from this burden. But these men are exempt. Why? Because under the other taxes they bear more than their share, while under the other taxes the men now taxed with the income tax bear less than their share. Therefore, at least, nine out of every ten are benefited by the income tax, having their own burden lightened, while those who now pay the income tax are only bearing burdens that heretofore they have shifted to the backs of others. I say one thing to all the people. It is better than that. Why, not even one Republican in ten will pay an income tax, and the other nine Republicans ought to thank the Democratic party for making the one come up and bear his share. Among the Democrats not one in thirty will pay an income tax. Of course, the Republicans will pay more income tax than the Democrats. Why should they not? They have the incomes on which to pay, and that is a pretty good test of what a man has been getting out of the government. These Republicans have been holding the national office all these years and drawing the national salaries all these years, and they have been generous to themselves, and they have been generous to the government, they have not taken a cent from the people's money that they ought not to have taken, they ought to be satisfied, if we let them keep what they got to pay a little income tax on it.

A Story on the Tariff.

Why didn't the Republican party bring you a tariff? Why didn't the Republican party reduce the tariff? It had a chance. All factions and wings of the Republican party had a chance, but they didn't improve the opportunity, and Roosevelt had twice as long to do nothing in and he didn't do it. Why didn't they reduce the tariff? Let me tell you a story that illustrates why. A man went into a clothing store, and the merchant was not looking at him. He snatched a coat and put it on and ran out. Then the policeman joined in the chase and shouted "Stop thief!" but he didn't stop, and the policeman said, "Stop or I will shoot," and the merchant became excited and grabbed the policeman and said, "What are you doing? You are shooting at me in the pants; the coat belongs to me."

Republicans Couldn't Shoot.

The Republicans could not shoot the protection thief, for he was clothed from head to foot in the things they owned, and if they went to consider the tariff reduction, one man said, "Don't reduce the tariff on woolen goods; I make my money in woolen goods." Another said, "Don't touch cotton goods; I am interested in the cotton goods business." Another said, "Keep the tariff on shoes and shoes are my business." And so when they went around they found some prominent Republican who represented every industry, and they raised it all around that they might have more to contribute to the protection thief. That is why they didn't reduce the tariff. But when the Democratic party got there it could shoot the protection thief, for it didn't have anything on that belonged to any of its members.

Why would not the Republican party give a tax income tax? Remember when we secured the passage of the income tax law twenty years ago, we had the opposition of all the Republicans, party and faction, of the Democratic party. Why didn't they give you an income tax? Because the men who control the Republican party were the men with large incomes, and they preferred to put the burden of government upon the poorer members of the Republican party, than to meet the needs of the people, and to favor without hearing their share of the expenses of government.

Currency Reform.

So, when the taxation crop was laid by, President Wilson then took up the currency question, and here was the question upon which the Republicans had every chance. Why didn't the Republican party reform the currency? You can go back eighteen years and you will find the Republicans had every chance to reform the currency, but they didn't dare to present the only kind of reform that they proposed.

When Wall Street Ruled.

What a difference between the two systems—the old and the new. We had the old system in 1897, and under it the South needed money it had to go down to Wall Street to get it, and in order to get it it had to pay out. West or in the South, if it got it it got it on the terms that Wall Street fixed and the man who got it had to pay back. It was a special favor that it was a special favor that must be paid back on demand, and then they attached a string to it so that they could take it back when they wanted it without regard to the welfare of the community. That was the old plan. You had not only to go to New York if you wanted to get your money, but if you wanted to get your own money sometimes they couldn't spare it. In 1907 they took it from the South, who had invested in their watered stock; when the water was squeezed out they couldn't let you have your own money back. You asked for it and they said no. You asked for bread and they gave you a stone. You asked for your money and they gave you counterfeit money. And when you said you had to have money to pay your depositors, they said, "Why don't you treat your depositors like we treat you?" And then in a night the wires spread the conspiracy that was formed from ocean to ocean, and the next morning the citizens of the country were told to draw their own money out of banks where they had deposited it. That was what happened in 1907. I ask you business men, financiers, I ask you Republicans, if that old system broke down in times of profound peace, where would that system be now with a war over half the world.

Change in Financial Center.

Why didn't they give you a currency reform? Because the only kind they thought of was a deforming of the currency, and not a reforming of it. The only plan they had was to fasten more securely on you the chains of the money trust which they represent. What are the features of this bill that we have passed? I will just take time to give you one, and it is the most important. The most important thing about this bill is that it transfers the financial center of the country from New York to Washington. It is only a short distance, less than 200 miles. The difference is so short that a lobbyist can take the train in New York at midnight and be in Washington long enough to lobby both Senators and members of the House before Congress convenes the next day. And yet it took over forty years to drag the center of finance 200 miles.

Audience Votes for New System.

I used to think in my younger days that I was a Democrat from a Republican by looking at him, but I have been fooled so often that I have not the con-

THE STANDARD BEARER IN THE STATE



J. C. W. BECKHAM,

Democratic Nominee for United States Senator.

science in myself that I used to have. Several times I have found a man with a good, honest face, and I have said, there is a Democrat. But that his mother was a Democrat. So I do not know what kind of an audience this is, but I am going to risk my judgment. I am going to venture the assertion that nine out of ten of this audience, Democrats, Republicans, Progressives or what-nots, will, when I take a vote, vote in favor of the new system rather than of the old one. I am going to ask you to vote, and those of you who like the new system with the center of finance at Washington better than you do the old system with the center of finance in Wall Street, hold up your hands.

(There was a sea of hands upheld.)

Now all you who would like to go back to the old system and put Wall Street in charge, let us see your hands.

(There was not a hand.)

See how conservative I was in my opinion. I said ten to one and it is everybody to nothing. Is it not glorious to think that a Democratic President and a Democratic Senate and a Democratic House should take up the work that a Republican President, Senate and House might have done and did not do and do that work so well that even the people that protested against the bill while it was being passed are now indorsing it as the best financial system that this country ever saw?

Dealing With Trusts.

And when they got the currency crop laid by they took up the trust question and we already have two measures passed. The first provides for a Federal Reserve bank, which is an administrative body can do it, protect us from the trust of the money market, and the law, signed or to be signed shortly, for it has passed both Houses, and the President has already signed his approval. That Clayton law prohibits interlocking directorates. That Clayton law prohibits discrimination in price and that Clayton law gives to the laboring men a right to have their own money back. We have been trying for eighteen years to secure for them—relief from government by injunction—and it makes a distinction between the man who has a right to his own money back, and the man who has a right to his own money back, which is a part of himself, and inhumanely what has been done so far in that line. It is the first time we have had a President who dared to lay the ax at the root of the tree. Why did not President Taft lay the ax to the root of the tree? Why did not President Roosevelt lay the ax to the root of the tree? They were leaning against the tree, and they didn't want to lose their support. President Wilson was the first President who laid the ax to the root of the tree, free to take the people's side.

McAdoo and the Banks.

And then a few days ago Secretary McAdoo learned that some of the banks were not using the money that they had borrowed from the government. He learned that some of them, instead of lending it out as banks should to meet the needs of their communities, were hoarding up reserves unnecessarily high, and it was causing trouble, and he looked around to see what he could do. He had not had a chance yet to ask him how he found out this remedy, but I can guess. I guess he went to the Bible. That is one advantage of being a Democrat. He went to the Bible and he found a case that just suited him. He found that one of the men who had received one talent, instead of using it, wrapped it in a napkin and hid it in the ground. And according to the Bible, when the master of the house came he called up this man and said to him, "Why did you not use your talent?" and he said, "I was afraid of you." And he said, "You were afraid of me, and I am going to put my judgment to the test. I do not know just what kind of an audience we have. It looks good to me. But I cannot tell how many Republicans are here. It is so hard nowadays, when the Republicans are finding out the error of their ways, to tell Republicans and Democrats apart. They even try to laugh like Democrats, so I don't know what kind of an audience this is."

Merchant Marine.

I have now given you a few of the larger things. I might call your attention to the fact that the Republican party for a generation has been talking of a merchant marine, but the Democratic party started a merchant marine without talking about it. And I may remind you that the Republican leaders who have spent a generation trying to belittle the patriotism and intelligence of the Democratic party, that the Republican leaders who have been telling the nation that the Democratic party did not have intelligence enough to conduct this government, and that after the Democratic party has proceeded to do the things that the Republican party ought to have done and undo many of the things that the Republican party has done—that those leaders dare not challenge the nation's judgment on one single measure of the Democratic party, and now in this campaign are trying to dodge the issue and instead of talking about permanent things that have been accomplished try to befog you with the details of the temporary measure called the war tax that is not yet formed. That is the situation. They are not ready to meet the issue on those things that the Democratic party has done, but they

try to take advantage of the war that has come, come without any fault on the part of the Democratic party or of the nation, and while the President is trying to protect the business interests of this country, and instead of withdrawing the money from the banks and thus compelling the banks to withdraw money from business and cripple business, he has the courage to ask the American people to take this burden upon themselves for the protection of the country.

The President and International Problems.

And while he has been solving the problems at home, he has had to bear a load in the nature of international problems heavier than often falls to the lot of a President. These troubles are not of his making. Some of them were inherited from a previous administration. The Mexican situation developed before the President took the oath of office. In February prior to the 4th of March, Huerta turned against the President under whom he served and by an act of high treason that would have justified a hateful despotism over an unwilling people. He began his policy of watchful waiting, and announced that, instead of using force, he would use moral pressure, and then the Republicans began to laugh at watchful waiting and jeer at moral pressure. The Republican leaders demanded that he recognize Huerta and the Jingo Republican press wanted to know why he wouldn't send an army to Mexico to restore order there.

But he stood firm, and finally, by pushing and pushing and pushing, he pushed Huerta out of Mexico and across the Atlantic, giving an oppressed people a chance to secure economical reforms. And just as the people were beginning to breathe, and then the people had a chance to see the difference between the methods employed here and there, and the mothers of Europe, from whose homes the breadwinners have been driven, battle front—these mothers whose sons, if the President had allowed himself to be coerced by the Jingo Republicans, might now be perishing upon foreign soil in an unnecessary war—these mothers ought to thank God for a President who kept peace in the world.

Where, I ask you, would this nation be to-day if, when an opportunity such as never has come before, a man moved against him, were not in position to improve that opportunity? And how could we be the preeminent of the world if we were busy trying to kill our brothers in the republic across the Rio Grande? Here stands a nation the diplomatic clearing house of all the world's affairs, and every country that is at war, and everywhere you will find all the business being done by the American Embassy and the American Legation, and while these things have been accomplished the President has put his powerful influence back of a peace and a quiet world, and rapidly that any other peace plan ever spread. It has been only a year and a half since it was proposed, and yet it has been indorsed in principle by the most important nation in the world. Thirty-four nations, altogether, and we have twenty-one treaties.

"They used to talk of these little treaties, but they talk of little treaties no more. For, of five of these treaties, one is Spain, one is France, one is Great Britain, one is Spain, China and Russia, five governments that exercise authority over more than one billion of our people, and not only have these treaties that link us to something like the quarters of all the world, but they have added to all this a new principle, a new principle to this we have the principle of arbitration by Germany and Austria and we believe that before we celebrate again the birthday of the Prince of Peace we shall be united by those treaties to every important nation in the world and these treaties provide that whenever any dispute arises, no matter what kind of a dispute it is, if it does diplomatic settlement, it must be submitted for investigation to a permanent international tribunal and a year's time must be given for investigation and for passions to subside and for reason to resume its sway, and the contracting parties agree that they will not declare war or begin hostilities until the cessation of that time.

Americans Are Proud of Wilson.

These, my friends, are a part of the record of Woodrow Wilson, President of the Senate and the House that have back of him. Would you rebuke a man who has made such a record as that? No, you would not. You would say you could take him off in some quiet place and whisper his condemnation in his ear. But you can not find a quiet place. There is no obscure place to which you can take your President and visit your condemnation on him if you would. He stands before the world, in stands where all the world looks on, and if you humiliate him you must humiliate him in the eyes of all mankind. But, my friends, you will not do it. You are proud of this President. You glory in a chief executive who has lifted the American flag until it is seen in the world around. What will you do? Will you haul down that flag? No, I believe when election comes not only will all the Democrats march side by side and express their approval by their ballots, but I believe a multitude of Republicans will say, "Now is the time to forget differences of parties and stand by Wilson and bid him God speed toward peace."